THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Too Much Going On

These are difficult times, in more ways than one, for the editors of political weeklies. This week, for example, there were at least 29 subjects which called for comment, though space limitations, of course, made that impossible. The news from Italy and Burma was remarkably good. The bill to simplify taxes was finally passed. A new Liberal Party came into existence in New York State, and the Communist Party officially disbanded. Vice President Wallace started for China. The Polish Government-in-Exile curbed the powers of General Sosnkowski, a Russia hater, and thereby seemed to move nearer to a settlement with the USSR. The Yugoslav Government-in-Exile removed Mihailovich from his post as Minister of War, faintly and tardily recognizing the fact that Tito is now the most powerful man, and the leader of anti-fascism, in that country. All Greek factions signed an agreement and a new Greek Government-in-Exile will now be formed. If it were not for the friendship of Winston Churchill for King George, the new government would certainly be a republic.

At Home and Abroad

Wayne Morse won the Republican senatorial nomination in Oregon, Helen Gahagan was nominated for the House in Southern California, and John M. Costello, also of Southern California, was the third Dies Committee member to bite the dust. Following the defeat of the poll-tax measure by filibustering Southern Senators, a constitutional amendment to the same end was introduced in Congress, and attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union planned suits in all poll-tax states challenging the constitutionality of using such taxes as a bar to voting. The Political Action Committee of the CIO came out for a fourth term for Roosevelt. Heads of the armed services testifying in Washington insisted that we need a universal conscription law, although American wartime production continues to break all records. Life magazine came out against Tom Dewey and The Chicago Tribune for him. Spain went through the solemn farce of closing the German Consulate in Tangier, though everyone knows that that city is still reeking with Axis spies. The massacre of the Jews in Hungary still continued. The British Empire Conference in London came out cautiously for a League of Nations.

A Flood of News

The Allies got tougher with Sweden over her sale of ball-bearings to Germany. Defense attorneys in the sedition trial in Washington continued to make a travesty of the case. Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit" and D. H. Lawrence's "The First Lady Chatterly" were in trouble with the Post Office. The navy decided to abandon its bungled attempts to keep radicals and liberals from becoming officers. The New School for Social Research, in New York, celebrated its twenty-fifth birthday. Both Houses of Congress have now passed slightly differing versions of the "GI Bill of Rights," giving aid to war veterans. Sumner Welles urged immediate creation of a United Nations Council.

Italy and Burma

While the world still waited for the invasion during the week ending May 22, the news from the fighting fronts was better than it had been for a long time. Improved weather was an important factor in the amazing success in Italy, but there were other factors as

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well, factors reflecting credit on the organization and execution of United Nations strategy. At the end of the week, the German army south of Rome appeared in real danger; and at the best, Hitler would have to keep 25 badly needed divisions in Italy or face a dangerous and humiliating withdrawal at least as far as the Alps.

The news from Burma was as good as that from Italy; our spectacular and brilliant strategy seemed on the point of encompassing a Japanese disaster in the north. Its most important result would be to make possible an overland road into China, partly the new Ledo Road from India, partly the northern half of the old Burma Road. The events of the next few weeks may be decisive in the whole Far Eastern phase of the war.

More Progressive Victories

Several more must now be added to the string of remarkable liberal victories which began with Pepper and Hill in Florida and Alabama, the defeat of Starnes in Alabama and Sweeney in Ohio, the triumph of Charles La Follette in Indiana, the retirement from Congress of Reynolds and Dies, the defeat of Rush Holt and others. To these achievements must be added the defeat of still a third member of the Dies Committee, John M. Costello, of Southern California, the nomination of Helen Gahagan, also in Southern California, and the victory of Wayne Morse over Rufus Holman in the Republican primary in Oregon.

In this string of liberal victories we can not only see a good omen for November; we can also read once again the lesson that the American press as a whole gravely misrepresents the actual state of mind of the American people. Newspaper publishers as a class are prosperous and conservative; and even when they try conscientiously to do so, they fail to give any adequate idea of the real attitude of the average American voter. In many cases, of course, they don't even try. How to get the press, the radio and other media for making and reflecting public opinion to do their job better remains one of the great unsolved problems of our democracy.

One Down and One Up

Over the last weekend, the United States gained one political party, and lost one. It gained the new Liberal Party, formerly the right wing of the American Labor Party. It lost the Communist Party, which formally disbanded and at once made itself over into the Communist Political Association. Neither of these moves, of course, surprised anybody.

The New Liberal Party

The new Liberal Party adopted a platform with nearly all of which most New Republic readers will warmly agree. Indeed, it parallels strikingly the suggested "Platform for Progressives" published in our special section, "A Congress to Win the War and the Peace," with our issue of May 8. The party puts winning the war before everything else. Thereafter it wants collective security, which would be foreshadowed by an immediate United Nations Council. It asks freedom for all colonial peoples as soon as they are ready for it, with international trusteeship in the meantime. The war criminals must be punished, but the enemy nations must not be treated in such a way as to nourish a demand for revenge and bring about another world war.

The party wants full employment and a high level of prosperity, to be achieved through a mixed public and private economy. Private enterprise would be encouraged, but over-all planning must be by the federal government, which would own and operate some key industries. Careful provisions should be made for orderly demobilization, so that every soldier will be restored (a) to a continuation of his education if desirable, or (b) to useful and well paid work. Most of the government-owned war plants should be leased, not sold, and under terms to ensure worthy use of them. Wartime controls should be retained long enough after victory to guarantee against inflation. The Liberal Party opposes all types of race and sex discrimination. It opposes both isolationism and imperialism. The party strongly endorses a Roosevelt-Wallace ticket. We earnestly hope that both this new party and the American Labor Party will now cease wasting their efforts in sniping at each other and will unite on the highly important job of carrying New York for Roosevelt next November.

The Communists

As for the Communists, their action is a formal one only. They had ceased to be a political party long ago, in any real meaning of the word. Even in New York, where the bulk of their membership is concentrated, they could not muster enough votes to stay on the ballot, a fact which probably helped induce them to try to capture the American Labor Party. With the dissolution of the Third International and Moscow's marked cooling off toward any early world revolution, the Communists had lost most of their raison d'être. In its desire to accord with what it surmises to be Stalin's wishes, the party had recently come out for free enterprise, and had actually scolded the liberals for attacking big business—over the Saudi Arabia oil deal, for example.

Wanted: A United Nations Council

Sumner Welles uttered some wholesome truths in his address in New York City a few days ago. He urged the immediate formation of a Council of the United Nations, representing all the belligerents, which could at once begin planning the sort of post-war world in which another great conflict would be

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an impossibility. He warned that a continued mere military alliance among the four chief powers, the United States, Britain, Russia and China, would lead only in the long run to plotting among these powers against one another. The military alliance would eventually end in war, as almost every military alliance has done since the beginning of history.

The great mistake made last time was to turn over to the League of Nations the responsibility for keeping peace in the world before the League was in any way ready to accept it, and long before the chief powers of the world had renounced their selfish individual policies which lead, in the long run, to additional conflict. That mistake probably will not be made again. It seems unlikely that there will be another attempt to solve all pending problems at a single brief peace conference, which would be the occasion to create another full-fledged league (or to resuscitate the present one, under whose auspices some 1,500 international treaties have been ratified, whose legality would be questionable if the League were to disappear). At the beginning, the maintenance of peace must and will rest in the hands of the four great nations. But simultaneously, and indeed at once, a United Nations Council should be created representing all the peaceful democratic elements on earth; and just as fast as possible, this council should take over the problem of creating a permanent, sane and peaceful world order.

Patrick Over Newsome

Alabama liberals have been doing magnificently of late. They retained Lister Hill in the Senate, and removed Joe Starnes from the House. Those in the Ninth District now have a chance for another fine stroke. Luther Patrick, former Representative, is running against John Newsome in the run-off election. Newsome has one of the worst records in the House, as shown by the New Republic voting charts. Of 18 important recent measures, he voted against progressivism eleven times and was absent twice. Among his wrong votes were those against spending money for soil conservation, against soldiers' voting, and in favor of the Dies Committee. In our previous chart of August 2, 1943, Newsome was wrong 15 times out of 20 and absent three times. He voted to prohibit strikes, to cut down OPA enforcement, to abolish the OWI Domestic Branch and to dismiss Watson, Dodd and Lovett. On the other hand, between 1940 and 1942, Mr. Patrick voted progressively on 18 issues out of 20, was absent only once and wrong only once.

A Big Job for Mr. Wallace

Vice President Wallace has left on a trip to Russia and China which is of the greatest importance. Conditions in China are now extremely serious. The inflation is taking a heavy toll; the conflict between the Communists and Chungking still divides the country and helps the Japanese in a military way; there is increasing restiveness among the young people against the autocratic, one-party rule of the Kuomintang. The recent Japanese drive has made alarming headway, and the Chinese hopes of really substantial aid from America and Britain have over and over been disappointed. (Recent advances in North Burma, however, for the first time give real hope that a land route, embracing part of the old Burma Road, may be opened within a few weeks.)

Mr. Wallace will bring to the Chinese people a message of hope and friendship from the liberal Western democracies. He is also better fitted, as Russell Lord shows in his article on page 735, than any other important statesman in the world to give China concrete useful advice about her pressing agricultural problem. He will be back in America in time for the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and we have every confidence that he will be renominated for his present post, for which he is so much better fitted than any other candidate who is in sight.

Dewey, Luce and McCormick

The last few days have seen two important events in the political campaign of Governor Dewey. The powerful Luce magazines came out against him; The Chicago Tribune came out for him. The change in the Luce periodicals sounds rather ominous; they argue (in an editorial in Life) that since the Middle West is the heart of the Republican revolt against the New Deal, a Middle Westerner should be the Republican candidate. Since this can hardly mean Governor Stassen, it apparently refers to Governor Bricker or Senator Taft of Ohio. The story is going the rounds that the influential men behind the Republican Party never

Drawing by Eric Godal. Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications and reprinted by courtesy of PM.

Strange Fruit

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really intended to support Dewey; that they used him only to kill off Willkie, and are now trying to discard him in favor of somebody even "safer" than he is. But if so, they may have outsmarted themselves; the New York Governor now looks like a pretty safe bet to be nominated on the first ticket.

The Chicago Tribune approval of Dewey must be a bitter blow to liberal Republicans (and contrary to the popular impression, there really are some of these). The Tribune hates internationalism more than anything else; yet Dewey made a strongly internationalist speech at the recent gathering of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in New York. Evidently The Chicago Tribune doesn't think he meant it. The Tribune believes that he was just doing what Harding did in 1920, when he campaigned as an internationalist and then turned isolationist as soon as he was elected. If The Chicago Tribune thinks Mr. Dewey is just kidding, why should anyone else take him seriously?

What Makes Us Sick

One of the most important problems before the American people was underlined in a paper delivered the other day by Colonel Leonard G. Rowntree, chief of the medical division of the Selective Service System, before a joint meeting of the American Psychiatric Association and the American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems. Many think of disease as being only physical in nature, caused by germs or some other outside influence, and curable only by physical substances such as sulfa drugs or vitamins. Colonel Rowntree revealed that high among causes for rejection for military service are diseases now recognized as having both physical and emotional components, and that such rejections have been rapidly increasing since Pearl Harbor. Among these diseases he mentioned particularly asthma, peptic ulcer, gastrointestinal diseases and neuro-circulatory impairment. No external physical cause can be assigned for the tremendous growth of such symptoms since we entered the war—rejection rates for asthma have nearly doubled, for peptic ulcer have increased nearly 50 percent, for neuro-circulatory maladies have doubled (an increase of fivefold is shown for Negroes) and for gastro-intestinal illnesses have increased two and one-half times.

"Disease," said Colonel Rowntree, "is neither wholly physical nor wholly mental; rather it is both physical and mental." It may take a long time before it is sufficiently recognized that the human being is not sharply separated into mind and body, but rather is a unitary organism of which mind and body are merely different aspects. Not until as much attention is paid to the emotional and cultural factors as to germs and drugs, however, are we likely to make much progress with the chronic diseases which now are the greatest causes of death and illness.

Congratulations to Canada

In two recent issues of The New Republic, those of March 20 and May 15, we criticized the policy of the Canadian government in refusing to permit Americans of Chinese racial descent to pass through Canada, even as passengers on a train bound between two points in the United States. We mentioned the case of one such person, a Chinese American girl who, in deference to Canadian law, was awakened in the middle of the night in the Buffalo railroad station and forced to dress, leave the train, and reach her destination—the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, where she is a student—seven hours late, after making two other changes.

We are glad to report that since this case was brought to light in The New Republic, the Canadian government has passed an Order in Council which will make any repetition of the incident impossible. We congratulate the government on its promptness and good sense, and we unblushingly take a bow ourselves as a tribute to the power of the press.

That Great Pabst Plan

IF THE WISH of the Pabst Postwar Employment Awards was to encourage unknown genius to come forward with an original and epoch-making idea, the donors have a right to feel cheated by the so-called "plan" which won the first prize of $25,000. It is a composite of suggestions which might be heard almost any day on the floor of Congress, at business conventions or in newspaper editorial rooms. Its temper is conservative; its pace pedestrian.

About half the allotted space of 2,000 words is devoted to more or less technical details of the reconversion period, on the assumption that if the government adopts the proper policies in ending war contracts and permitting the resumption of civilian output, all will be well, because plenty of purchasing power exists in the nation.

Most of the detailed recommendations appear to be good, and the management of this period is indeed of great importance. We question the wisdom of placing an arbitrary limit of one year after hostilities cease on regulation of prices and distribution by the OPA and the WPB; controls should be relaxed as soon as the need for them disappears, but not before. We dislike still more the suggestion that all war plants except those needed for military purposes be sold promptly to the highest bidder. Though the author accompanies this recommendation with the proviso that they should not be sold to any company which controls more than 20 percent of a given industry, such a proviso appears to be a weak defense indeed against the restrictive powers of industrial concentration.

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The second part of the paper, dealing with the longer term, indicates why such recommendations are made, and offers more of the same sort. The expressed intention is to do everything possible to encourage private enterprise to undertake risks and enlarge investment. Any device which might provide a substitute for such activity if private enterprise should fall down on the job is conspicuous by its absence, since it might scare the timid investor or manufacturer.

Great stress is laid on clear definition of the fields of business and government. All that government should do, in the view of the prize-winner, is to provide a favorable environment for the competitive profit-seeker by appropriate taxation policies, prevention of monopoly and stabilization of the price level. A broadened program of unemployment insurance is thrown in for good measure, to help stabilize markets.

It is recommended, for instance, that to encourage risk-taking investment and to discourage saving, income-tax rates be reduced in the upper brackets and increased in the middle ones, and that corporate profits be untaxed except as they are allocated to stockholders. Rigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws is demanded, as well as new legislation in the same field, and drastic reduction of tariffs is favored, because they encourage monopoly. Great caution is displayed about the use of fiscal policy as a direct stimulus to employment; all that is required is that it shall, in combination with central banking policy, stabilize the price level.

On the whole, our impression is that this is the type of program which might have been offered by an orthodox economist—and was in the main offered by many of them—any time within the last fifty years. It bears the stamp of conservative economic thinking at every point. Even the slight nod it makes in the direction of Keynesism is chilled by the apparent wish that if investment is not made by business risk-takers it shall not be made at all. And certainly it is antediluvian—if we regard 1929 as the beginning of the flood—to set up as the only goal of fiscal policy the maintenance of a stable level of wholesale prices. What, pray, was the instability of prices which led to the greatest depression in history? It was just because prices showed so little change in the period before the crash that many economists were misled into expecting continuous prosperity.

Not that there is anything very wrong or dangerous in attempting to stabilize prices or to do most of the other things in this plan. We too are against monopoly and high tariffs, we are for international trade, active business and unemployment insurance. It does tell us something about the intellectual climate of the United States, however, that at this point in history a board of unquestionably progressive and sincere judges should award first prize to a production of this kind. Perhaps the choice was due to the inveterate tendency of contest judges to pick safe and undistinguished averages. Perhaps the screening process kept some of the more imaginative or daring entries from them. However, our guess is simply that not many in this country know the kind of world they are living in, or are prepared to take measures adequate to the demonstrated needs and opportunities. It is not so much that we are afraid as that we are asleep.

How strange it must seem, for instance, in almost any other country in the world, to read in an approved and broadly publicized document of this kind, that "the high operation of a free, private, competitive economy is a necessary condition for the existence of political and personal liberties." Or to read that a high level of government spending is inconsistent with political democracy and personal liberty. We fear that it was such dubious prejudices which blinded the author to the extent and gravity of the problems involved in trying to assure steady high employment. Certainly it will take a harder-headed and more discerning economic science than one which is guided chiefly by a nostalgia for laissez-faire to save what is worth saving in private enterprise.

What folly, for instance, it is to believe that a business order which is scared out of its wits by an unbalanced budget would continue on a care-free joy ride in the middle of a pitched battle between government and those great industries not dominated by competition. Or, for that matter, to couple a belief in non-intervention by government with advocacy of the incessant policing which a vigorous anti-trust policy must involve. No more beautiful or seductive utopia was ever dreamed by the most other-worldly dreamer than the automatically self-regulated economy of the classicists; but we should expect Adam Smith and Ricardo themselves to squirm with intellectual discomfort at the suggestion that the type of business economy we now have would be capable of offering a job to every man and woman who wants one, simply by virtue of a few prohibitions and pats on the back.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Racism on the West Coast

WITH THE REMOVAL from the West Coast of 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, and their subsequent internment, the artificially stimulated agitation which had stampeded the federal government into the adoption of this harsh wartime measure momentarily subsided. During the spring, summer and fall of 1942, all was quiet on the West Coast front. But in January, 1943, a new campaign, of unparalleled virulence, was launched against this luckless minority. Throughout 1943 it raged without let or hindrance. Before another pogrom is launched in this region, it is important that the nation realize just what prompted the extraordinary outburst of racial violence. For example, why was it that anti-Japanese, or rather anti-evacuee, agitation assumed such menacing proportions after every person of Japanese ancestry had been removed from the area and placed in protective custody? One would have assumed that such a harsh measure as mass evacuation would have satisfied even the most insistent pressure groups on the West Coast.

If these groups had really been concerned with the "security" of the area, mass evacuation would have satisfied their demands. But so-called "security" considerations had little to do with the organized pressure for mass evacuation. While insisting that all persons of Japanese ancestry should be removed from the West Coast, many of these same pressure groups were conducting a quiet but effective campaign *against the removal* of persons of Japanese ancestry from the strategically far more important Hawaiian Islands. For example, the powerful California Joint Immigration Committee indicated that it was "unalterably opposed" to the evacuation of the Japanese from the islands. For if Japanese were removed from Hawaii, they would necessarily have been transferred to the mainland. If they had been removed to the mainland, the number of resident Japanese would have been increased and some of them might not have returned to the islands after the war. What groups such as the California Joint Immigration Committee sought, in advocating mass evacuation, was not the removal of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, but their eventual removal from the United States.

By the fall of 1942, the War Relocation Authority had begun to experiment with the issuance of seasonal work permits. Several thousand evacuees, under this plan, had been permitted to leave the relocation centers to meet the manpower shortage in agriculture. This program was only initiated by the WRA after "very great pressure"—in Mr. Dillon Myer's phrase—had been brought to bear by the sugar-beet industry. Since the experiment proved entirely workable and satisfactory, the WRA was encouraged to expand the program. The emphasis in policy shifted from resettlement in the centers to relocation outside the centers. New procedures were evolved by which local evacuees might be given permanent releases permitting them to relocate in areas outside the Western Defense Command. By the end of 1942, several hundred evacuees had been given such permanent or indefinite leaves.

The moment that it became apparent that most, if not all, of the evacuees might be released in this manner, the West Coast pressure groups got busy. For they had always assumed that evacuation necessarily implied internment for the duration. The main motive back of the resumption of anti-evacuee agitation in January, 1943, was, therefore, to prevent the release of any further evacuees from the centers. If these pressure groups were genuinely desirous of preventing the return of the evacuees to the West Coast, then the most obvious considerations would dictate the necessity of their supporting the WRA in its efforts to relocate as many evacuees as possible in the Middle West and East before the war is over. But what these groups really want is mass deportation of all persons of Japanese ancestry; hence their insistence that the evacuees be confined in the centers during the war.

It is not necessary to infer the existence of such a motive in the resumption of agitation on the West Coast. One of the leaders of this agitation stated, at a meeting called in the fall of 1942 to plot the strategy for the campaign, that "we should strike now, while the sentiment over the country is right. The feeling of the East will grow more bitter before the war is over and if we begin *now* to try to shut out the Japanese, after the war we have a chance of accomplishing something. Now that all the treaties between the two nations have been abrogated by Japan's war on the United States, Congress is under no treaty obligation and it could easily pass an act ordering all nationals of Japan to return after the peace. . . . Maybe the return of the aliens would mean that some of the American-born would follow them."

Who are the leaders of this campaign? What organizations sponsor this movement? One of the most active leaders in the anti-evacuee campaign is Dr. John R. Lechner, who functions through his alter ego, the Americanism Educational League. It is interesting to note that Dr. Lechner was not originally in favor of mass evacuation. "Mass evacuation," he said, "would only cause hardship both to the Japanese and other residents of the state" (The Los Angeles Daily News, January 21, 1942). The day following the delivery of this speech, he sent a marked clipping to the editor of a Los Angeles Japanese-American newspaper stating that he would greatly appreciate having some

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cards printed—gratis. He is the author of a pamphlet entitled "Playing with Dynamite," full of the usual bedtime stories about the West Coast Japanese. On a recent visit to Washington, numerous officials received the impression that he was "representing the American Legion." In its issue of January 15, 1944, The California Legionnaire, speaking in the name of the Legion, not only repudiated any such connection, but went on to characterize his action as being "in flagrant violation of written notice from our Department Commander."

Another "anti" organization is the Home Front Commandos, Inc., of Sacramento. This organization has inundated Northern California with racist manifestos. One of its recent pamphlets carries the caption: "Slap the Jap Rat," and still another is captioned: "No Jap Is Fit to Associate with Human Beings." These statements are made, of course, in reference to American citizens of Japanese ancestry. One of the main financial supporters of the organization is a Sacramento millionaire, Mr. C. M. Goethe, long prominent in the affairs of the Northern California Council of Churches and treasurer of the California Joint Immigration Committee. He is the founder and, I suspect, the chief member, of the Eugenics Society of Northern California. The weird bulletins of the society contain endless derogatory remarks about Mexicans, Italians and, in fact, almost every ethnic group in America with the exception of what are termed "Old New Englanders" and "the Virginians." In Eugenics Pamphlet No. 12, issued before the war, one finds this interesting statement:

> Since Hitler has become Führer, he has made eugenics an applied science. Germany has set up hundreds of eugenic courts. These try German social inadequates as to their fitness for parenthood. Please do not think these trials are based on race hatreds. Whatever else may happen in the Reich, the eugenics trials proceed with fully as much caution as if they were held in the United States. Germany's plan is to eliminate all low-powers to make room for high-powers and thereby ALSO SAVE TAXES!

Still another "anti" group is the Pacific Coast Japanese Problem League, headed by Dr. John Carruthers —Presbyterian minister, graduate of Princeton, former professor of Religious History at Occidental College, for five years assistant to the president of the University of Southern California. Like Dr. Lechner (another ex-clergyman), Dr. Carruthers has not always been anti-Japanese. During the years 1924-26, he was a director of the Council of International Relations, which was created primarily to combat anti-Oriental agitation on the West Coast. Testifying before a California Legislative Committee, Dr. Carruthers recently stated that, after an hour of prayer in "the privacy of that precious American heritage, the Christian home in a Christian city in a Christian land of freedom," he had come to the conclusion that it was his duty to urge "the deportation, if possible, by every means possible, of all Japanese from the American continent." The Japanese Americans, he said, should not object to this proposal, since, if they were really Christians, then "they ought to be glad to be shoved out anywhere that they can bear witness to the Kingdom of Christ."

Then there is the California Citizens' Association of Santa Barbara. And the California Citizens' Council of Los Angeles. This organization has been circulating petitions for the "ouster of the Japanese from California forever." Its slogan is: "Remember a Jap is a Jap." Its members are urged to place stickers on the windshields of their automobiles. The sticker contains a picture of a rat with a Japanese face. Still another organization is the American Foundation for the Exclusion of the Japanese; and yet another is No Japs, Inc., of San Diego. At the present time another organization, the Japanese Exclusion Association, is circulating a petition to place a special initiative measure on the November, 1944, ballot in California. Drafted as an amendment to the Alien Land Act, this proposed amendment, if adopted, would make it virtually impossible for Japanese aliens or persons "of the Japanese ancestry or other ancestry ineligible to citizenship under the naturalization laws of the United States" who owe allegiance to "any foreign Government, Emperor, Prince, or Potentate," to function economically in California. The statute would place the burden upon the Japanese American to prove that he did not possess dual citizenship.

The real force behind the "anti" movement in California, however, is the California Joint Immigration Committee, which speaks in the name of the American Legion, the State Federation of Labor, the Grange, and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West. The Native Sons, with a membership of around 25,000, is particularly active in the campaign. This organization has traditionally been, not merely anti-Japanese, but anti-Oriental, anti-Mexican, anti-Negro. In a brief filed in a recent suit by which it sought to test the citizenship of the Nisei, or Japanese Americans, the organization contended that the words "we, the People of the United States," in the Constitution, refer to "the white people"; and that the "ourselves" of the Constitution "included white people only" (Appellant's Brief, p. 47, Reagan v. King). The California Joint Immigration Committee filed a written statement with the Tolan Committee in 1942 in which it contended that we had made a great mistake in conferring citizenship upon the Negro after the Civil War. These groups are, therefore, adherents of the doctrine of white supremacy and their propaganda is directly predicated on so-called "racial" considerations.

Los Angeles CAREY MCWILLIAMS

This is the first of two articles. The second will appear in an early issue. —THE EDITORS

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Who Will Succeed Churchill?

WHAT HAPPENS to the world in these next ten years will depend pretty much on what happens to internal politics in the United States, Russia, China, the British Commonwealth. That's about as much as saying it's anyone's guess. Certainly not many people over here in England would dare prophesy about the United States, China or even Russia. But there are quite a few Englishmen who are beginning to lay bets about the political future of the British Commonwealth, and even more, who are prepared to tell anyone who cares to listen what's going to happen in the seventh and greatest dominion, Britain herself.

The prophets are on relatively sure ground as far as three of the dominions go. They can point to solid election results. The August, 1943, general election in Australia was a landslide for Labor. It gained all 19 vacant seats in the Senate, giving Labor control for a minimum of 6 years. In the same month Canada's Co-operative Commonwealth Federation became a political force almost overnight by winning 34 out of 90 seats in the Ontario elections; the CCF may have a long way to go, but at least it's left the starting post. In New Zealand the veteran Labor government was returned for a third term in September, 1943. South Africa looks as though it will be the exception; Newfoundland hardly counts. But in the June, 1943, Eireann election, Labor polled 17 percent of the votes instead of the 9 percent it received in 1938. You can see why there are no laughs now when a man offers to bet on the Commonwealth, bar two, being predominantly Labor in another five years.

How about the United Kingdom? Up till a year or eighteen months ago the political sideliners thought that nothing could stand up, postwar, to the Churchill magic. Where Churchill led, there the voters would follow. The Conservative Party would therefore romp home and the only hope for Labor was to book a back seat on the Churchill bandwagon. Churchill himself apparently wanted a Coalition government which would continue to include non-party men like Lord Woolton, Sir John Anderson and Sir Stafford Cripps. Things have changed since then. The Labor Party members have shown that, win or lose, they don't want a Coalition after the end of war and that they mean to fight Churchill at the election which he has promised for the morrow of Germany's defeat. The Labor Ministers had to concede something to this feeling. Deputy Prime Minister Attlee obviously regretted having to commit himself at last year's Labor Conference; but he did pledge that "when hostilities with Germany cease . . . the party conference which authorized the entry of Labor into the government will be called to consider the continuance or ending of that participation, and Ministers as loyal members of the party will act in conformity with the decision of the conference."

Then the voters have shown, on a small scale but convincingly, that the Churchill magic has lost its power. In a long series of by-elections, opposition candidates have done outstandingly well. In all cases government candidates received the official support of Labor, Liberal and Conservative leaders, including letters underlined with Winston's own signature. They have had entrenched local organizations to rely on for canvassing. They have been helped by an out-of-date electoral register which disfranchises many men and women under 30; there is a good deal of evidence to show that most young people in the services and in industry are now supporters of the Left.

In spite of these handicaps, independent candidates have almost everywhere reduced Conservative majorities, and—where conditions have been at all favorable—have been elected. Several of the left-wing independents have enjoyed the support of Common Wealth's six (yes, six) expert canvassers. One new Common Wealth MP was elected at Skipton, Yorkshire, which, as an agricultural constituency, had always been considered hopeless for Labor. At West Derby, Alderman White, Labor Independent, was also backed by Common Wealth. He administered a great defeat to Lord Hartington in a constituency which had always been conservative before. A now famous verse was written to celebrate this defeat:

> Lord Hartington
> Didn't go to Dartington,
> He lost his seat upon
> The Playing Fields of Eton.

In the by-election at Bury St. Edmunds Mrs. Corbett Ashby stood as a Liberal but proclaimed her allegiance to a United Progressive Front. She lost against a first-class Conservative candidate, but once again reduced the Conservative majority. Her key slogan was "Churchill for War, Beveridge for Peace." She recognized that while Churchill's supremacy as a war leader was universally accepted, as a peace leader he was widely distrusted.

These by-election results could be interpreted as indicating disillusionment with *all* the established political parties. There is no doubt that this disillusionment does exist, as Tom Harrisson of Mass-Observation recently pointed out in The Political Quarterly. But, of the established parties, more and more people are coming to look on the Labor Party as the least bad; and this is the significant fact for the postwar election. The Con-

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servative Party, which was elected in 1935 in order to impose sanctions on Italy, is identified with the old order which people want to discard.

In August, 1943, the British Institute of Public Opinion asked a nationwide sample: "If there was a general election tomorrow, how would you vote?" The results were as follows:

Labor	39	percent
Conservative	23	"
Liberal	9	"
Communist	3	"
Common Wealth	1	"

On this showing, the prospects for the Labor Party are good. But before laying bets, there is one big "if" to consider. Labor will only win if its leaders can be made to want to win, and if a policy clearly differentiated from that of the Conservatives can be developed. The Conservatives are adept at producing election scares, and will make the most of the need for following Churchill until the Japanese as well as the German war is over. Labor may lose by default; it will not lose if it is thoroughly responsive to the new mood of the electorate and determined to make a reality of a new Britain dedicated to economic expansion, social welfare and equalitarian democracy. There would be no doubt about the issue if Labor would, as many of its members were urging, put itself at the head of a Progressive Front, including left-wing Liberals, Common Wealth and Communists; the energies and the votes of the Left would then be united, not divided.

Sensible prophets usually cover themselves by saying that all prophecies are dangerous. But whatever the qualifications you may think necessary, I am prepared to gamble on the British Commonwealth speaking with the voice of Labor at the Peace Conference. What odds do you offer?

London MICHAEL YOUNG

Henry Wallace of Iowa

The article below consists of selections, slightly modified, from Mr. Russell Lord's introduction to a book of speeches by Vice President Wallace, to be published by Reynal and Hitchcock in the middle of June under the title, "Democracy Reborn." Mr. Lord also edited the speeches and provided a running commentary upon them. – THE EDITORS

THE THIRTY-THIRD VICE PRESIDENT of the United States is not to be understood simply as an extraordinary growth of the reform administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, dating from 1933. He is the product of a much longer growth, a family growth. Many of the traits, gifts, convictions and mannerisms of Henry Agard Wallace which may at first seem hard to understand become much more clearly explicable in the light of some knowledge of his family and particularly of the patriarchal "Uncle Henry" Wallace of Iowa, his grandfather. This Wallace, who began life as a Presbyterian minister, went on to be a free-lance farmer, journalist and public speaker. Though he then wore the cloth no longer, for all of his days (and he lived to a robust age) he remained in many ways a minister and in large ways a Man of God. He became a really great man in Iowa, and his influence in agricultural matters was felt throughout the nation before he died. He founded Wallaces' Farmer, which still lives. "Good Farming. . . . Clear Thinking. . . . Right Living" is the motto on the paper's masthead.

His son, Henry Cantwell Wallace, commonly known as Harry, was graduated from the Iowa State College of Agriculture, was assistant editor of Wallaces' Farmer until the death of his father in 1916, editor thereafter, and Secretary of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge until his death in 1924. The present Vice President, "Young Henry," as the family called him, grew up in the somewhat straitened circumstances of a family that had some land and a good name, but had very little money at the time. In the small house that his professor-father rented at Ames, he experienced not want, but a genteel scarcity. As soon as he was old enough to write about his first work in corn breeding, while he was still a student at Ames, young Henry broke in as an associate editor, taking up such work full time upon his graduation from college in 1910.

He remembers that in the late nineties the family was living on borrowed money in a rented house in Des Moines. He remembers his father remarking on a Sunday walk that if they could just lay hold of $800, they could build a house of their own. But nearly every cent they could get was going into the paper then. By 1899 things were picking up. The family bought 10 acres of land and a dilapidated house on the edge of town. In 1900 Wallaces' Farmer started paying salaries to its partners; and in 1901 the Harry Wallaces built a grand new $5,000 house of their own on their newly acquired acreage.

After the First World War Henry Cantwell Wallace consented, though not without misgivings, to be Secretary of Agriculture in the Harding, later the Coolidge, cabinet. In those cabinets he and Herbert Hoover were probably the strongest men and certainly the most resolute antagonists. It was common talk in Iowa that contention with Hoover and a growing de-

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spair of what he regarded as a fair deal for agriculture brought on Harry Wallace's collapse of health and his death in office in 1924.

Those were trying days for "Young Henry," as they still call him in Iowa. He had just turned forty years old, and was head of the family now. Times had turned hard for agriculture and were getting harder. Protectionism was in the saddle. "Back to normalcy" was the watchword. Things looked bad. The third American Henry Wallace of this clan went on with editing the family's paper, pursuing his researches in plant genetics and mathematical correlations. For a while, he has told friends, he "almost hated Hoover." But he is not a good hater. By the dawn of the 1930's he was speaking of President Hoover sadly as "an honest, earnest man who doesn't know what it's all about." His change of party, accompanied by a change of creed, has been, he has since explained, in protest against barriers. First, trade barriers: they are, in the long run, iniquitous; and, in a creditor country determined to export without accepting imports, ruinous. As for religious barriers: "I didn't like the way in which Al Smith's religion, Catholicism, was used to smear him in that campaign." So he left the Presbyterian church of his fathers and became a member of St. Mark's Episcopal Church—"one of the poorest, most struggling churches in my home town," Des Moines. Neither move was simply a move from camp to camp. He is not a strict party man any more than he is a strict Episcopalian. He is simply a man constantly moving on against and through the barriers that divide mankind: and this, in ever expanding measure, has been the line of his life and growth in public affairs.

It is not perhaps an accepted tenet of human genetics, but it sometimes appears that the children of taciturn parents are voluble, and the children of voluble parents (this factor may be environmental) turn taciturn. In the four generations of the Wallace family the heads of the family display at least a remarkable alternation as to this. So far as he could as a publisher and then as a public man, Harry Wallace said or wrote little, and wrote that little guardedly. The gift of words appears in him to have skipped a generation, although in the expression of policy, either private or governmental, he could be clear and forceful. And now we have his son, the present Henry, pouring out words through every public channel, like his grandsire of old. The grandsire loved to argue, preach, exhort and quote the Bible in a peculiar secular sense. He would speak and write of the politicians and business leaders there in Iowa, with curt comparisons to progressives and reactionaries in the Old Testament. So does this Henry, on a world scale.

On that March day of the first Roosevelt inaugural, with every bank in the land closed, he came in his turn as Secretary of Agriculture to Washington. He wondered if he were suited to the turmoil of public life. The portfolio of Agriculture, which he was taking over, was a post more gravely important at the time, and more onerous, than even the job of Secretary of State. But once he took over the burdens of the office it was striking to see him change. His step lightened; his smile grew warmer; he worked with a blithe sweep and directness for fourteen or even sixteen hours daily and visibly gained each day in poise, assurance and health. He found that he could eat a peck of trouble daily and thrive on it.

He had taken no training in public speaking in college, and rather resisted his teachers of English, or other teachers requiring "themes" in literary style. They always wanted long papers, he complained, and they favored "smart" or mannered writing. For a teacher of history who graded him a mere 85 percent because a theme had been brief, he next prepared an extended paper and was pleased to receive a grade of 90. But he was even more pleased to note that the professor had not read all the way through to the last page. There Wallace, in experimental mood, had entered an impishly irrelevant paragraph saying how, looking out the window he could see a skinny, red cow browsing on the herbage of his native Iowa, and ruminating with long thoughts about history, possibly, and long papers. He takes little pride in his writing, as writing *per se*, even now. "Strangely enough, I do not like to write," he says. Like his grandfather before him, he prefers dictation. He can peck out letters or notes with two fingers on the typewriter, but he never learned to love the instrument. Sometimes his prose compositions are scrawled in a large, rough, round longhand on large sheets of pad paper, but far more often what he has to say is talked into a dictaphone.

Always by his desk, when he was associate editor and later editor of Wallaces' Farmer, there were two machines such as would drive most writers frantic, a dictaphone and an adding-machine. When the subject is familiar to him, long since thought through—the tariff, let us say, or the rise and defects of research and education—he sprawls in his desk chair, with his feet on the desk or perhaps in a nearby wastebasket, and puts words on a cylinder at a speed approaching two hundred words to the minute. When he is feeling his way ahead on a new subject or approach, he leans over the machine like one wooing music from a bull-fiddle, and talks very slowly, with long pauses. His control of the hand throttle which turns the thing off and on with the flow of thought is as easy and natural as that of a good driver on the clutch of a car. The output is sometimes finished and can go to printer or mimeographer just as it is. More often, he gives it a single quick going-over with a pencil. Sometimes, if there is time, he will hold it and pry at it with a pencil, editing, reworking it for weeks.

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He is an exhorter with scientific underpinnings. The words that spring from his mind, sometimes stumbling, sometimes leaping, are those of a man troubled, deeply troubled, by the far-reaching sickness of these times. They are words of a man unburdened with intellectual pride or arrogance, a man who knows a great deal and knows it doesn't amount to much. He has said of himself, half-humorously, that he would like to spend his life "making the world safe for corn breeders and machinery." To unleash to the utmost the productive capacities of nature, machines and men, so that "a balanced abundance" will replace "enforced meanness," man to man—of such is his heaven on earth.

An old friend of the family gives me an engaging picture of Henry Wallace making his first stump speeches throughout Iowa and the distressed Corn Belt shortly after the war. These speeches were economic, not political. He was associate editor of Wallaces' Farmer. He knew from his charts and studies that when foreign demand caved in, then agriculture, buying on a protected market and selling through tariff walls, would be the first major business element in the country to go to smash. So he stood there, talking slowly, entirely extempore, telling those people who read and trusted his family and their paper about changed currents of world trade. "So decent, so earnest!" and, this friend remembers, "so determined not to make a speech!"

As Secretary of Agriculture he wielded an enormous emergency power. The pressure on his door and heart and mind were at times terrific. Great food-dealing firms sent high-priced skilled contenders, fresh from the drawning rooms of Pullmans, to gain from him decisions that would make them millions. He broke off parley with one such smooth contender by standing wearily, with bent head, and saying, "Unless we learn to treat each other fairly this country is going to smash." He was rather an awesome man to work for at times, but always perfectly natural, friendly and charming, not in the least self-righteous.

What he says on the public platform corresponds remarkably in style and cadence with his natural way of talking. Style, after all, is simply what makes people say that what you write sounds like you. Wallace's natural style is an instrument of communication with a wide range. It moves from the conversational to the expository, to the statistical and to the heights of poetry, all in his own way. He is devoid of literary vanity. He works too fast to have any time for that. Sometimes in a speech he will tackle a subject and leave the impression that he is trying to think in public; that he is asking his audience to help him think this thing through. Improvising, Wallace pours forth at times strange mixtures of colloquialism: "The butter folks are on the hot spot." What a mess! The mixture of his metaphors in first drafts is sometimes no less than majestic. "The youth movement," he scrawled in one first draft, written in a car, "has been the backbone of every strong-arm movement in Europe." But he makes plain what he means, as a rule, and the personal quirks in his style are warming to the discourse. At its best, when he unleashes deeply felt emotion, or philosophizes without self-consciousness, his style is superb. The candor, the poetry, the bluntness and the boldness of the Bible are what you think of then. It was this quality which caught the world's attention on May 8, 1942, when he made that great speech beginning, "This is a fight between a free world and a slave world." He had been thinking on this subject for a long time. He arose from bed at five in the morning and dictated the address by seven. The text transcribed from the dictaphone record was changed but little.

Almost the first public act of the second Secretary Wallace when he came ten years ago to Washington was to rescue the officially painted portrait of his father, Secretary "Harry," from the sequestered gallery of past secretaries in the Department of Agriculture, and hang it on the wall directly above his desk. In 1940, when he became Vice President, he asked if he could take his father's portrait on to his new office. He still has it on the wall above his desk.

Sometimes he seems more like his father than his grandfather. He can be tough. He can be very quiet and sad-voiced about it or again half mocking, gravely smiling, but he can be tough. Where there is a log-jam to be broken in policy evasions or in personnel relationships, he breaks it. As a rule he does not leave a lot of dead timber lying around to clutter things up. He hates this side of the administrative job. He loses sleep about it, especially when friends are involved. He hates quarreling; it literally makes him sick. So he does not quarrel. But he does act.

The seedbed of his mind and character was fertile and well stocked when he first came to Washington. The first evidences of full growth were vigorous but by no means formed. His discourses were those of a man almost talking to himself, into a dictaphone, at first. But one thought bred another and he learned how to talk to the people, to all the people, to listen to what that aroused and to talk back, world-wide. His war against barriers that divide mankind—barriers of trade, creed, race, color, language and opportunity—has gained enormously in reach and effectiveness. He has deservedly come to be known the world over not only as a good man but as a great man.

Yes, these Wallaces are a continuing growth, profoundly simple, profoundly practical. Whether this present Henry will prove to be a practical politician, in the sense of nomination-getting and vote-getting, time alone and the surging changes of global war will tell. But it is certain that he will keep growing.

RUSSELL LORD

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Washington Notes

O'Mahoney's Insurance Battle

SENATOR JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY of Wyoming deserves a Congressional Medal of Honor for statesmanship. Few men ever have worked more diligently or more effectively on a matter of high public interest, in which the public has shown little or no interest, than has the Senator from Wyoming. Almost single-handed he has blocked passage of the Bailey bill making it unlawful to apply the anti-trust acts to any insurance business.

Shortly after Senator Bailey and the late Senator Van Nuys introduced the bill last fall, a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee favorably reported it to the full committee. The insurance lobby wanted the bill passed posthaste in an attempt to head off a decision by the Supreme Court in an anti-trust action brought by the government against a fire-insurance combination known as the Southeastern Underwriters' Association. O'Mahoney is a member of the full committee, but he was not on the insurance subcommittee.

When the bill reached the full committee, O'Mahoney presented a series of questions to the members of the subcommittee regarding the effects of such legislation. They were unable to answer them. Therefore, at O'Mahoney's suggestion, the bill was recommitted to the subcommittee for further study. Additional hearings were held. A few days ago the subcommittee again reported the bill to the full committee. All indications were that there were sufficient votes in the full committee to report the measure to the Senate.

But again O'Mahoney protested that the committee was about to take action on a matter of the highest public interest without sufficient evidence. He showed that exorbitant rates were charged by many insurance groups, that the entire industry was monopoly-ridden, and that insurance was a matter affecting nearly every family in America. For the second time the full committee upheld O'Mahoney and in a two-to-one vote recommitted the bill to the subcommittee. Moreover, it appointed O'Mahoney a member of the insurance sub-committee.

With great diligence, the press has ignored this entire matter. Only a handful of liberal newspapers have reported it. And, sad to relate, not even the readers of those papers have become very excited. Here is an attempt by all types of insurance to safeguard the monopolies and the price-fixing agreements that have been built up over the years. If the monopolies were broken, there would almost certainly be substantially lower rates in most fields of insurance. Nevertheless, O'Mahoney has had little support from the people in the fight he has made in their behalf.

The Wyoming Senator has presented evidence to show that an insurance monopoly is in a position to hamper the development of American aviation, both foreign and domestic. Oswald Ryan, a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, testified that three groups of underwriters have dominated the aviation insurance market. "Each of these three underwriting groups is composed of a number of fire and casualty companies which have agreed to divide all business written by them in specified proportions," Ryan said. He showed that the agreement had been an extremely profitable one. Moreover, Ryan said that there was "very substantial participation by foreign insurers in American aviation insurance." This is made possible through the practice of reinsurance. "The history of marine insurance seems to show that insurance is an international commercial weapon," Ryan testified, "which is capable of being effectively used in acquiring and controlling important channels of trade, and that it is possible for insurers to offer such differentials in rates as to divert cargo to vessels of their own nationality."

In conclusion, Ryan said that in non-airline risks "the three underwritng groups have, through concerted action, achieved uniform premium rates, have divided among themselves the business in three important classifications of risks, and have taken steps which tend to exclude any underwriter outside of the groups from participation in the business." Insurance costs for domestic airlines in 1942 represented from 2.2 to 6.9 percent of their total operating expenses.

What is true of aviation insurance is true of fire, theft, accident and many other types. It would seem that business men and the public at large would support O'Mahoney in his fight.

A short time after his return from Japan I heard Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in an off-the-record talk describe the growth of Japanese militarism as he had seen it. He told about the many warning signals he had sent to the State Department.

As I listened I kept thinking that if only the American people had known these things there might have been a different story on December 7, 1941. Certainly we would have been better prepared, more alert in every way. No doubt Ambassador Grew did a fine job of reporting to the State Department. But the State Department does not make American policy. The American people do that. In days past ambassadors reported to kings and that was all that was necessary. But that doesn't work in a democracy. The State Department is not an isolated instrument; it cannot function without the support of the people.

As I read Ambassador Grew's new book I have the same question: Isn't there any way to get across to the American people the information gathered by our ambassadors and ministers abroad? I know that it is impossible to make public their dispatches, but I wonder why a responsible information policy could not be developed to see that Congress and the people are informed of what is happening. Much work can be done by the foreign correspondents, but in addition there is much official information that should be made public.

Without the support of the people—and support comes only with understanding—the government cannot win a real peace. Very seldom at off-the-record conferences have I heard anything that should be kept secret. But I have heard much that the people should be told—much that would help in opening the minds of all of us to the problems that must be solved if we are to have real victory.

Washington T. R. B.

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Boys in the Back Room

"THE HITLER GANG" is an attempt by Paramount to show the nature of the Nazi leaders, their careers between the First and Second World Wars, with special emphasis on their methods of gaining power. It is very likely the most conscious and complete attempt made in a single film by Hollywood to reproduce history. It has been put together with a good technical efficiency by Producer Buddy de Sylva and Director John Farrow and is diverting enough for one reason or another in the tight, jolting manner of gangster movies. The value of its history is a different matter.

This neat, slick simplification of history narrows everything concerned in the careers of the Nazi leaders down to the gangsterlike facts that they were all irresponsible men who wanted power and used any means to get it. Their fascist ideology is shown coming to them by a sort of catch-as-catch-can route: at one time or another they needed an idea, so they chose the first likely one that presented itself and seemed capable of winning them power. Their fascism, according to the producers of the picture, had no deep roots in these people: Hitler hires himself out as a political speaker and gives the speech about the supremacy of the German army that he is told to give, though he seems never to have thought of it before; when Himmler suggests making the Jews a Nazi scapegoat and using their money to strengthen the party, he and the other leaders contemplate the proposal as though it were the first anti-Semitic thought or feeling any of them had ever had. Someone advises Hitler to write a book setting forth his ideas, and he begins doing this, picking ideas out of other people's writings as though he had little previous awareness of or feeling for them. The problem arises of breaking the power of the church, and they sit around once more mulling over the best way to achieve that end; finally one of them thinks of educating the children against the church, and another Nazi idea is born as though on the spur of the moment for some need of the moment. While the film makes an unbelievably flimsy connection between the men and their ideas—fascism seems as little inherent in them as the politics of a political boss is in the gangsters he hires—it makes practically no connection at all between the leaders and the people around them, or with any economic, social or psychological force that may have propelled them into power.

The characterization of the leaders is also on the extra-simple, extra-naïve side, but it has the decided movie virtue of having actors who are sharply delineated in physical look and a director wise enough to take advantage of it. This virtue is pretty well canceled out by a number of things. The players themselves act more like their usual screen selves than the people they're impersonating, and seem generally far too mild and inconsequential to have accomplished what their real-life counterparts did.

Every now and then the picture takes a moment out from the usual back-room meeting of the masterminds and the brief out-door glimpses of their gangsterism that composes the most of the film to note in a sentence or a single shot that Roehm was a homosexual, Hitler a paranoiac, Goering a drug addict and a patient in an insane asylum; and that is supposed to make them seem as awful as anything in your minds—homosexuality, drug addiction and having been a patient in a hospital for the insane being in the movie mind synonymous with complete evil. At any rate, there is no attempt to make any of the accused act in a paranoid or homosexual way, so that the effect of the disclosure is only momentary, if indeed it amounts to anything at all. In their back-room conferences, every member takes a turn advising some villainy, and this makes it difficult to tell just what each one was particularly like. For some reason, the producers chose to make Hitler the most virtuous and least capable, and characterized him merely as a puppet used and driven by his colleagues. Whether or not he is, and whether or not Himmler is the party's brain, the main idea of the movie still seems to be that the way to prevent millions of people from becoming wholehearted fascists is to keep political gangsters out of office—which is no doubt partly true. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Although "immoral conditions" exist on the estate owned by the Church of England in the Paddington section of West London, the church is not "morally wrong" in collecting rents therefrom, according to the conclusion of a report published today.

". . . If the commissioners received money from persons whom they knew to be brothel keepers," the report says, "they would be receiving tainted money. But in fact they receive the money from lessees whose character is beyond reproach, and they have no contact with or control over the sitting tenant."

At the same time the committee thinks that the commissioners should "genuinely endeavor to stamp out the evil, both from a moral standpoint and in its own financial interests, inasmuch as the notoriously existing conditions have greatly depreciated the value of the estate." —*From a London cable to The New York Herald Tribune.*

On the Home Front

Two pictures almost as important as the impending invasion! "Rosie the Riveter" and "Tarzan's Desert Mystery." —*From an advertisement in The Lexington, Kentucky, Herald.*

Democracy in Action: British Division

The Duke of Devonshire himself is a democratic man. He has often placed his ducal dining service on exhibition for his admiring tenants to view before a great dinner took place. —*From the society column of The Washington Daily News.*

Glory Hallelujah!

Martin Dies was pilloried and persecuted by a powerful administration, yet he did an inestimable service to America in a national crisis. John Brown was hanged for a crime that helped awake a nation. His soul goes marching on. It will be helpful to America if the awareness to un-American doctrines Martin Dies created can be kept alive now he is being politically interred. —*From an editorial in The Knickerbocker News, a Gannett paper, Albany, New York.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. —THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Democracy at Home

SIR: Since I've been overseas for about a year, my magazines get to me late, and I have just read your January 31 issue. The editorial paragraph entitled "Race Friction in Missouri"[1] filled me with such repugnance that I know before I begin that I shall not to be able to express it in these words.

I have taken part in three invasions and have worked with soldiers who have been fighting over here ever since the African landing. None of us is willing to die for people who are so prejudiced and undemocratic. I am from the South and I realize that there are prejudices similar to this in my section of the country. The fact that there are many such people is no excuse for that attitude of mind.

It has been clearly and often pointed out that fascism—or any other form of tyranny—is in the mind, and unless a man's soul is warped, no outward political form can make him what he inwardly is not. It seems to me that there are many fascist-minded people in the United States. I am not willing to risk my life for such persons, and if I had them to contend with over here I had just as soon shoot them as a German. It seems a paradox that while we are fighting so hard and dying so painfully over here, such a situation should be permitted back home. . . .

Whether most people realize it or not, law stems from the people, and they can change it or remake it as they like. Isn't it odd that the very laws they created (posting a bond, for example, without compulsion) should be disregarded by them when feeling runs high? Unless the majority backs up the law, a minority skillfully and strongly led can undo all our social gains. The people who do such things are just as much our enemies as the Nazis or Japanese. We have earned our right to American citizenship only by our work and our idealism: if we are false to them, we shall forfeit the right to liberty such as we offer, even though our society is far from perfect.

Somewhere in North Africa. FROM A LIEUTENANT

Solving the Timber Shortage

SIR: In its April 7 issue, The New Republic gave a misleading title to an excellent article by Lyle F. Watts on the lumber and forest situation as it is at present and appears to be in the future. The title gave the impression that an impending shortage of lumber threatened to envelop us. We have heard so much about our forests being denuded and about all the other shortages that never occur that most people have begun to lose faith in those who speak of them. If all the shortages which have been foreseen had actually developed, we would long ago have been without any natural resources whatsoever.

Nor does Mr. Watts appear to have desired to create any such impression. He did point out that we have been using lumber much faster than it was being grown and that we would probably continue to do so, especially if we continued to maintain a higher rate of production than we have had in the past. As solutions, Mr. Watts pointed out that we should grow more trees, not use less lumber, and that we can always depend upon importations to make up the deficit.

Not in criticism of anything Mr. Watts said, but in elaboration of his argument, one could point out that the importation of lumber would not only make up the deficit but be a blessing both to ourselves and to the countries from which we bought it. By buying lumber from countries which are undeveloped, we give them an opportunity to buy more goods from us and thus help to create the industrial employment upon which we must depend for full employment. The growing of more trees also fits into this same scheme of things. Our future prosperity depends upon the utilization of our industrial facilities and the best utilization of our land. Much of the land we are trying to cultivate today produces little more than a bare existence for those who till it, and any program of increased employment must include a plan for turning these "rural slums" back to forests and giving those who now inhabit such areas better jobs in our industrial society.

Baltimore, Md. CLARENCE ARMSTRONG

[1] This paragraph described the persecution by their neighbors of two farmers of Ash Hill, Missouri, who imported five Negro families into the lily-white township to help them harvest valuable crops. – THE EDITORS

The Minneapolis Labor Case

SIR: The 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case are the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, passed in 1940—the only peacetime law since 1798 to make the expression of opinion a federal crime. They were placed behind bars not for anything they did but solely because of their ideas and union activities.

These 18 prisoners have no way of caring for their families. Knowing that their wives and children will suffer great hardship and privation, they are counting on us to help them until they are freed and once again able to provide for them. In some of the families there are babies and children of school age who need food, clothing and medical care.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York, has pledged itself to take care of the families of these men while they are in prison and to relieve them of this burden of worry. We have the full coöperation and support of the Workers' Defense League.

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman,
New York City Civil Rights Defense Committee

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Privates First Class Wade Thompson and Jack Corrigan have written expressing their indignation at the "totally unwarranted attack against the Japanese Americans last month in Great Meadows, New Jersey," and other ugly manifestations over the country of racial prejudice against minority groups.

Omar Abu Khadra writes from Jaffa, Palestine, to express an anti-Zionist point of view. He says the Arabs were promised independence during the First World War and understood they would get Palestine. Since then he says the Arab proportion of the population has gone down from 95 pereent to 65 percent, the Jews possess most of the fertile land, and many poor tenants have been turned off land sold to the Jews. If the Jews come in at 25,000 per year, they will be a majority in 20 years. He asks why Canada, Australia and the United States do not accept Jewish immigrants, instead of wanting to send them to Palestine, which, he says, is already overcrowded.

New Republic readers in the New York City area may be interested to know of the National Wartime Conference to be held at the Hotel Commodore, June 2 and 3. This conference is being held jointly by about 75 national organizations representing science, the professions and white-collar workers. The registration fee is $5, and a public session on June 2 at 8 p. m. is open to non-delegates at a fee of $1. Information can be obtained from Miss Olive Van Horne, 135 East Fifty-second Street, New York 22, N. Y.

The New School for Social Research informs us that its students and the graduate faculty of Political and Social Sciences have launched a new magazine called Twelfth Street: A Quarterly.

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Books in Review

Pre-Nationalism

THE PHRASE 'the people' is sheer nonsense," Disraeli once wrote, in a statement which alone would have sufficed to make him despicable in the eyes of the Nazis. "It is not a political term. It is a phrase of natural history. A people is a species; a civilized community is a nation. Now, a nation is a work of art and a work of time." Professor Kohn most certainly agrees with Disraeli when he defines nationalism as a "state of mind, permeating the majority of a people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being."

The age of nationalism in which nations become the great corporate personalities of history presupposes the formation of national states. It starts precisely where Professor Kohn's new book [1] leaves off: at the time of the French Revolution during which the nation revealed itself as the decisive political force. "The Idea of Nationalism" is actually only the first volume of a work which represents the fascinating attempt to write a universal history of ideas, not merely the intellectual history of various countries. One may regret that this book, which deals solely with the long period of incubation of nationalism, and the author's forthcoming study of the development of nationalism from the French Revolution to our times, were not published simultaneously. Only the second part of Professor Kohn's work can illuminate certain problems which are just touched upon in the present volume: the place of nationalism in a shrinking world, the role of the nation as a mechanism for unifying the various individual group and class interests, the relationship between nationality and humanity, between nationalism and race-thinking.

However, the present volume, which unearths the deep roots of nationalism in the past, provides most important insights and an unusual wealth of information on a subject to whose study the author has devoted half a lifetime. Essential traits of nationalism are uncovered in the Messianism of the ancient Jews and in the consciousness of differentiation which pervaded every individual among the Greeks in spite of the very slight objective basis for Greek national feeling. The old and the new Roman Empires as instruments of universalism, the Renaissance and the Reformation, with their first conscious emphasis on cultural nationalism, are treated merely as the prologue to the period of the new liberty which started with the Puritan Revolution and whose message was carried from England to other nations.

As early as the period of the Renaissance and of the Reformation there began to develop the cleavage which is one of the main themes of the book. With pertinent remarks, the author rejects the utterly unhistorical judgment of those who discern the character of national groups "throughout the ages." (The Mongols, universally feared under Genghis Khan, turned into peaceful lamaists; a century ago the Germans were thought a lovable and impractical people fit only for metaphysics, music and poetry.) But Professor Kohn makes an essential contribution to the understanding of modern history by emphasizing the fundamental difference between what is commonly called the Western World on the one hand and Central and Eastern Europe and Asia on the other. In the Western World, where a new society was born in which the middle classes achieved a growing preponderance, the rise of nationalism was mainly a political occurrence, preceded by or coinciding with the formation of the national state. In Central and Eastern Europe the backward political and social development forced the rising nationalism to find its only expression in the cultural field. "It was at the beginning the dream and hope of scholars and poets, unsupported by public opinion—which did not exist, and which the scholars and poets tried to create—a venture in education and propaganda rather than in policy-shaping and government."

Although the author displays an amazing learnedness where he treats the literature of smaller European countries, perhaps the most interesting and most brilliant parts of his book are those which deal with the intellectual history of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. These show an aversion to militarism on the part of all classes; a Herder, as a true son of the Enlightenment, ridiculing national pride; a Klopstock devoted to pacifist humanitarianism; a Wieland giving the duties towards mankind and the moral law precedence over those toward the fatherland. It becomes clear that the Vansittartites when they quote early German authors as proof of inveterate Teutonic wickedness indulge in the same distortions as those Nazi authors who praise Herder and the German Storm and Stress as samples of an "organic-heroic mentality" or as "the categorical turning away from the theoretical spirit of the Enlightenment to the new German acting virility."

The deepening cleavage between West and East during and after the French Revolution is only hinted at. It is suggested that outside the Western World nationalism, having no basis in political and social reality, depended upon influences from without and hence lacked self-assurance. German, Russian and Indian nationalists developed an inferiority complex which was easily compensated for by overconfidence in their own nationalism as something richer and deeper than that of the West.

In such explanations, which contain but a part of the truth, the natural limits of intellectual history as a historiography of the human mind become apparent. Professor Kohn hopes for a reconciliation between the seemingly antagonistic ideas of liberty and of nationality through a depoliticalization of the latter. In the same way that religion was slowly depoliticalized, nationality might be transcended

[1] The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background, by Hans Kohn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 735 pages. $7.50.

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and, while remaining an "intimate and moving sentiment," lose its connection with political organization. The more the second volume of the author's remarkable book combines intellectual history with a discussion of the social and political background of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the more it will help to convey the necessary conditions for the sublimation of nationalism.

HENRY W. EHRMANN

Olympian in Butter

Yankee from Olympus: Justice Holmes and His Family, by Catherine Drinker Bowen. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (An Atlantic Monthly Press Book). 475 pages. $3.

A MASS OF DEVOTED WORK has gone into Mrs. Bowen's portrait of Mr. Justice Holmes and his background. I wish I could say that her conception of her task equaled the devotion with which she has pursued it. But it does not. She has dug up a surprising amount of fresh material, particularly about Mr. Justice Holmes's ancestors and his prejudicial career. And she has strung together all the extant anecdotes into a series of vignettes that make the book immensely readable. The large audience to whom the book has been able to bring the intimate portraits of men who seemed otherwise forbidding figures—the man of the law, and his father the man of medicine and the word, and his grandfather the man of God—will be delighted with it. But if you measure it exactingly you will find it inadequate.

Part of the trouble lies, I suspect, in the genre in which Mrs. Bowen works. I do not mean biography itself, but the mushy and fictionalized variant of it which is becoming a staple of the publishers' lists, and which tells everything about a man except what is important. In his essay discussing the "literature of knowledge and the literature of power," Thomas DeQuincy added a "tertium quid, or neutral state," called "entertainment," which, by seeking to fuse passion with instruction, ends only by neutralizing both. In this category he includes biography. I think that the great biographies have belied him, and have shown that biography can be power and passion as well as ideas, without either canceling the other. This is the literature of re-creation, and it demands the highest qualities of art and intellect.

But Mrs. Bowen's book, like many others of our day, falls into what I should call the literature of recognition. Instead of spurring the reader to make the imaginative effort of encompassing the subject, this category of biography reduces the subject to the common-denominator level of the reader. It translates the distant into the immediate, the myth into the everyday. It takes the unadorned idea, and spins it out either into a make-believe dialogue or into a stream-of-consciousness reverie. Mrs. Bowen's book has more restraint, ability and merit than most of its kind. But in the end it shares with them the essential defects of its qualities.

Several reviewers, notably Edmund Wilson in The New Yorker, have already pointed out how irritating is the omniscient semi-fictional form in which Mrs. Bowen works. "What songs the Sirens sang," wrote Sir Thomas Browne in a famous passage in "Hydriotaphia," "and what name Ulysses assumed when he hid himself among the women, although difficult questions, are not beyond all conjecture." Similarly, what the Holmes men said and thought when they went courting, and what passed through the minds of the Holmes women as they listened to their husbands talk or watched them at work, are not beyond Mrs. Bowen's knowledge.

As a result the reader simply cannot guess when the author is making up dialogue to embellish something she knows to have been said, or when she is spinning out a conjectured mood that may have happened that way. And this semi-fictional form becomes in itself a symbol of the effort, in the literature of recognition, to make things easy that will never be anything but hard.

This applies particularly to Holmes's ideas. Mrs. Bowen is conscious of having left them out of her book. She calls it a serious omission, "because Holmes was a man to whom ideas were beyond all else interesting." But, she says, "Holmes's greatness lay most of all in his manner of meeting life." This cannot be gainsaid, but I fear it misses the point. What gave Holmes his capacity to meet life was his artistry, his philosophy, his perspectives. Take those away from him, and he becomes simply another New England gentleman in the old tradition and the grand style, with courtly manners, acid phrases and the crotchets in which an aristocracy can afford to indulge itself. To present Holmes mainly through his human relations is to give the veneer without the substance, to miss the inner principles of growth that gave him stature.

I have not read Mrs. Bowen's other books, which are about musicians. But you cannot deal with Holmes as you would with a musician. His world was not a world of moods and sensibilities, but a world of Darwinian struggle and the planetary crash of ideas. It was a complex world, for all his efforts to make it seem less so—full of paradoxes and blind alleys, of craggy mountains and dizzy precipices, of illuminations and despairs. In the phrase that Mrs. Bowen has taken from Elizabeth Sergeant's unsurpassed essay, he was a "Yankee strayed from Olympus"—but never so far strayed that you could reach him without scaling his mountains. He was not an Olympian cast in butter.

The relationship Mrs. Bowen presents most clearly is that of Mr. Justice Holmes and his father—a famous father who talked incessantly of his fame and used his home and family as material for his public writings. It was proof of Holmes's inner strength that he was not warped by his resentments against the Autocrat. But I suspect that the relationship between the two was more complex than Mrs. Bowen suggests. Holmes may largely have been molded—in his literary restraint and his personal aloofness—by the impulse to be different from his father. But as he grew older—as so often happens—he partially became his father. He was not the public Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, but he knew that his epigrams were becoming legends even in his lifetime, and he played up to it. His sense of the histrionic took a different form from that of his father, yet I should doubt that it was any less strong. He got attention not by literary volume but by literary economy, not by jabbering but by chariness.

Much more puzzling is the relationship of Holmes with

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his wife, which Mrs. Bowen tends to treat as one long love idyll. Mrs. Bowen starts with her as a gay, vivacious and high-spirited girl, surrounded by beaux. Yet she waited a decade for Holmes to propose, and Holmes held off until his uncle spoke sharply to him about it. What were the psychic sources of this inhibition? And, on Mrs. Holmes's side, what happened after their marriage to change her personality? Mrs. Bowen tells us that after a trip to England, where Mrs. Holmes got the sense that she could not keep up with the people she met, she became something of a recluse even in the Boston in which she had grown up and which she knew so well. Holmes went out to dinners and other social functions while she stayed at home. What happened in the interval to change this social and high-spirited girl into a sharp and childless woman who kept so completely to herself and whose wit took on an added acerbity from her seclusion?

In Washington, Mrs. Bowen tells us, the Holmeses (now in their sixties) became for a few years part of the brilliant circle around President Theodore Roosevelt, and Mrs. Holmes's lack of confidence melted away for a time under the hearty laughter of the President. Both the Holmeses grew old gracefully, and the bond between them was clearly a strong one. They were an unforgettable pair: he with his gallantry, his eye for a pretty figure, his taste for French novels; she watching over him, gibing at him with a wit at once affectionate and barbed, dressing herself with a severity that seemed almost purposively unfeminine.

Holmes, with his sense of privacy, would not have liked these probings of mine. Neither, however, would he have liked Mrs. Bowen's book, which is blurred where he was sharp and soft where he was unsentimental, which omits the impact of his ideas, and which is sometimes evasive of difficulties in the personality of a man whose injunction was always to strike for the jugular. MAX LERNER

For a Pan-American Policy

The Americas and Tomorrow, by Virginia Prewett. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 282 pages. $3.

ANYWHERE YOU GO in the United States where relations between this country and the other American republics come up for discussion, critics are morally certain to step forward with accusations that Uncle Sam is giving away something for nothing in Latin America, and with cheery predictions that the end of the war will see the end of "good-neighbor nonsense."

Without in any sense conducting herself like the fullback on anyone's debating team, Miss Prewett quietly and prosaically gives more hard-headed and sense-making answers to patriots of this "isolationism begins at Brownsville" school than have ever been locked up before in 282 pages.

About the good-neighbor policy, as it has functioned since 1933, she makes two points clear beyond serious argument. "Good-neighborism" is not the product, or even the by-product, of sentimentalism or wishful thinking in international affairs—of "a sudden rush of idealism to the heads of Roosevelt and Hull." It was "dictated," Miss Prewett

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These are the thirteen Princeton Kierkegaard publications:

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THE WORKS OF LOVE, *translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian M. Swenson. 2 volumes. (Spring, 1945)*

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says, "by pressing realities"—the international dangers and pressures which developed with the coming of fascism to power in Europe in the early 1930's; and out of the fact that, with all the ill will our programs of Marine interventions, political inter-meddlings and "dollar diplomacy" had won us in Latin America, the United States, in 1933, had reached a point in its relations with its continental neighbors where it had either to "put up or shut up on Pan-Americanism."

Miss Prewett's second, even more incontestable, point is that "good-neighborism" has worked. The willing cooperation of the neighbors relieved us from desperate dangers to the Panama Canal after Pearl Harbor, forestalled elaborate Axis plans for political and military disturbances in the southern republics, made possible the fast air-ferry-transport routes from Brazil over the shortest of all Atlantic passages, relieved the crucial shortages of war materials which might have wrecked war production after the fall of Singapore. Such services have been decisive for the security of the Western Hemisphere, the United States included, and equally decisive in the prosecution of the war and to the meeting of our production schedules. With enemies, instead of collaborators, below the Rio Grande, Miss Prewett points out, we might easily today be fighting defensively on a southern front, instead of launching offensives across the Atlantic and Pacific.

Hence, Miss Prewett defends even the most widely criticized phases of the "good-neighbor policy" as contributing vitally to these over-all practical results. If Washington had got "tough" about Mexican oil expropriations in 1938, for instance—six months before Munich in the war time-table—"we should have strengthened Mexico's arm," she says, "in raising the anti-American, anti-capitalist banner throughout Latin America."

As long, then, as we are going to have to face problems of security, of supply and of military effectiveness under attack, Miss Prewett maintains that close working relations with the other nations of the American land mass are necessary to the safety, and even the national existence, of all of us. She does not, though, advocate a relationship even faintly tainted with economic isolation, or excessive interdependence, within the hemisphere. In summing up a future hemisphere policy, she says:

> The ideal is not to do less business with the outside world, but to develop each country so that its chief dependence is not on foreign markets and sources of supply. It is to increase commerce within Latin American countries, to increase commerce among Latin American countries, and to increase our commerce with them. . . . The American republics will always do business with the other regions of the world. It is to their advantage to. But it is not to Latin America's advantage to be at the mercy of non-hemisphere industrial powers, or to be hanging by the thread of non-hemisphere markets.

Such objectives, however, Miss Prewett realizes, can only be attained through the utmost development of the productive resources of the neighbors, including the industrial. Quite obviously, too, she sees that this can only be brought about by coöperative financing in which the United States will be by far the heaviest participant. But again she cites the practical advantages, even to United States finance, of a larger economic self-sufficiency for all of the American

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republics: the fact, for instance, that industrialized Canada, with her 11,000,000 population, buys six times as much from the United States as Mexico, with her unindustrialized 20,000,000.

Obviously Miss Prewett is not attempting a complete round-up of the problems involved in our hemisphere relations. There is no exploration here into the minds or the emotional reactions of the neighbors, or into the mores and the cultural values to which so many of their policy and political wagons—not to mention nationalistic prejudices—are hitched. The political systems and the types of political leadership in the 20 Latin republics are hardly even mentioned. The political chain of events by which a vapid and wordy inclination toward Pan-Americanism was transformed into a practical collaboration for the good of the continental neighborhood, is treated with the sketchiest possible economy.

But on the basic questions of why we need this working neighborly relationship within the hemisphere, and where we may rationally try to get with it, this is the year's Grade-A primer both for doubters and for inquiring minds.

DUNCAN AIKMAN

The State Department

A Modern Foreign Policy, by Joseph M. Jones. New York: The Macmillan Company. 94 pages. $1.35.

PROBABLY NEVER BEFORE in our history has the average citizen been so interested in our foreign relations—and never before has he experienced such bewilderment as to the trends and purposes of his State Department. Mr. Hull's recent statement is admirable, but it furnishes only an official criterion by which to measure deficiencies in putting the principles into effect.

Joseph M. Jones was from March, 1937, until May, 1943, a member of the State Department's staff. He left in order to be free to publish the conviction to which he had finally come, that the rejuvenation of the Department of State and the revitalizing of United States foreign policy were among the most urgent problems facing the American people.

Before discussing the Department itself, Mr. Jones analyzes the essentials of our foreign policy, and urges a war to the finish against fascism, continuous pressure in all other countries for the maintenance and extension of conditions of freedom, the perpetuation of the present association of the four major United Nations, and the fullest possible coöperation with all organizations which may be set up for the protection of basic human rights everywhere. In the light of these principles, he criticizes the action of the State Department, summing up with the drastic assertion that "it is only by courtesy that we call our incongruous mixture of wordy principle and simple expediency a United States foreign policy."

Of the Department structurally, he says, "It is an unbelievably inefficient organization. It does not run, it just jerks along." He goes on to say that it is organized primarily on the basis of day-to-day operations that are a relic of the last century when our foreign relations were limited to matters concerning commerce and navigation. The entire Department, he says, "from high officers to low, is

"This book is a ring-tailed wonder...

a Salt River Roarer, a Mississippi Screamer. In parts it's sweeter than wild strawberries in June, cool as spring water after mint. In other parts it's mean as a western bad-man full of red dog liquor and rattle-snake juice."

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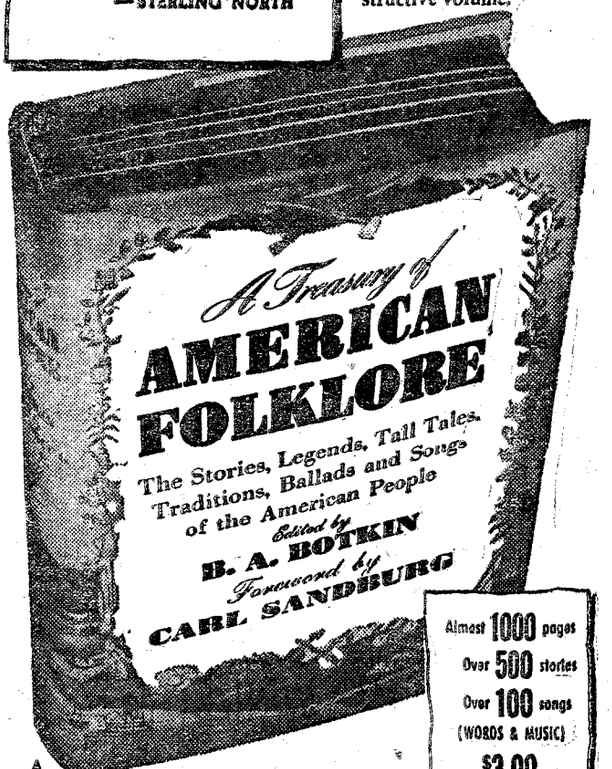

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so completely bogged down in routine paper work that there is little time and no established procedure for consideration of ideas or plans. Further, there is no analysis of current information carried on in the Department. Its officers are amongst the most insulated of all government personnel from the influence of American life and thinking." He ironically advises the State Department to enter into diplomatic relations with the American people.

Beyond the marked deficiencies in organization, moreover, he argues that there are derelictions of a more serious sort, involving the ideological and spiritual outlook and competency of those who are responsible for policy and action. There is, he asserts, little comprehension of the capacity of human beings to respond to leadership; there is no faith in the people. While verbal allegiance and lip-service is given to democracy as a way and practice of life, this supposed loyalty is self-betrayed in the processes of day-by-day. "They speak the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope," as once was said in classic terms of statesmen in another age.

The book is, however, not entirely given over to criticism: for Mr. Jones has certain specific recommendations which, if accepted and put into effect, might well go far toward redeeming the situation. The first emphasis must be upon obtaining statesmen for the Department, who can devote their whole attention to foreign policy to set a modern tone in international relations. He urges drastic revision of the departmental establishment, fitting it for operations based on international planning and equipping it with means for making more available than now the information which Americans desire and to which they are entitled. Far closer coöperation must be developed, furthermore, between the Department and Congress—a movement which is at least incipient at the present time, largely as the result of pressure brought to bear by liberal public opinion.

Many other important recommendations are made. It all boils down to the fact that at the moment when the world is passing through its greatest crisis, that vehicle of government by which the American people are served in foreign affairs has proved itself inadequate. The causes for this are many and complex. But the remedies are available. Will they be applied before it is too late? MORTIMER HAYS

Contributors

CAREY MCWILLIAMS' most recent book is "Prejudice—The Japanese Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance," which is to be brought out in August by Little, Brown and Company. The Public Affairs Committee is publishing a pamphlet which he wrote for them summarizing the relocation phase of the same problem.

MICHAEL YOUNG is a British journalist and publicist who is on the staff of Political and Economic Planning.

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